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New York

President: Mr. Essy ..... (Côte d'Ivoire)

The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.

Agenda item 9 *(continued)*

General debate

The President *(interpretation from French):* The first speaker is the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Guinea-Bissau, His Excellency Mr. Marcelino Lima, on whom I now call.

Mr. Lima (Guinea-Bissau) *(spoke in Portuguese; interpretation from French text furnished by the delegation):* Allow me first of all, Sir, to congratulate you warmly on your noteworthy election as President of the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session. Your presence, dear brother, at the head of the Assembly is clear proof of the commitment of your country, Côte d'Ivoire, to the defence of international ideals and the promotion of multilateral diplomacy. Furthermore, your personal competence and the rich diplomatic experience you have acquired over the years are a guarantee of the success of our deliberations. My country, Guinea-Bissau, which holds one of the vice-presidencies, wishes to assure you of its total availability and fullest cooperation.

Our thanks and congratulations also go to your illustrious predecessor, Mr. Samuel Insanally, for the wisdom with which he guided the work of the forty-eighth session.

We would also like to express our congratulations to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and to pay him a tribute for his tireless activity in the midst of so many dramatic events.

The general debate of the forty-ninth session reflects the logic of the post-cold-war period, in which the burden of blocs, ideological confrontations and threats of nuclear has been lightened, thus creating favourable conditions for a new type of relationship between nations and peoples.

The political and socio-economic changes that have taken place on the international scene undoubtedly will have repercussions on the structure and functioning of the United Nations.

Created 49 years ago, the United Nations has long lived in the context of the bipolarization of blocs and of ideologies. Today more than ever, our Organization is called upon to face the challenges of international politics in a different way.

The positive trend emerging on the international level thanks to joint efforts by many parties to preserve this trend is nonetheless being thwarted by various hotbeds of tension and conflict in different regions of the world.

Guinea-Bissau, aware of this fact and of its harmful consequences, is firmly committed to the promotion of a

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new international conscience, based on respect for human values.

The United Nations, in order to better respond to the requirements of our times, must take these new challenges into account and thus undertake the necessary reforms.

The universally hailed end of bipolarization in international relations has brought about a rebirth of hope for a new era of peace. Alas, the world is still the theatre of tragic and unforeseeable events.

The African continent is one of the regions of the world that is most affected. Drought and desertification, which bring disorder to that continent, diminish its productive capacity and provoke famine, is now being compounded by fratricidal wars.

It is no accident that in the course of recent years more than half of the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations have taken place, unfortunately, in Africa.

In Angola, the people continue to be victims of suffering and atrocities. Guinea-Bissau once again urges the parties to the conflict to fully respect the relevant Security Council resolutions and hopes that the Lusaka talks will produce results.

In Mozambique, significant progress has been achieved in the efforts to establish a lasting peace. We repeat our congratulations to the Government and to the *Resistência Nacional Moçambicana*, and urge them to persevere along this road, which should lead to the holding of multiparty elections in the coming days.

In Liberia, the situation remains virtually unchanged, despite numerous agreements concluded between the parties concerned. If it continues, this state of affairs may imperil the stability of the subregion.

The situation in Rwanda and in Somalia continues to be of serious concern to my country. We urge all of the parties concerned to end hostilities in favor of dialogue for the achievement of national reconciliation. My Government welcomes the international community's unified actions on behalf of these two countries, in particular "Operation Turquoise," undertaken by France.

With regard to the situation in Western Sahara, my country's delegation welcomes the progress achieved and supports the efforts of the Secretary-General.

Similarly, Guinea-Bissau is of the opinion that the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia must be resolved through peaceful negotiations.

The end of apartheid and the holding of the first free and democratic election in South Africa have turned a page in the history of that country, which is called upon to play an important role in Africa and in the world.

The peace agreement signed between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization, which provides for mutual recognition by the two parties, and the agreement between Israel and Jordan represent important steps toward the creation of lasting peace in the region.

Concerning the question of East Timor, we support the continuation of all initiatives undertaken under the auspices of the Secretary-General with a view to bringing about a just and equitable solution.

Regarding Cuba, my country encourages dialogue between the United States and that country to find a solution to the question of the embargo, the repercussions of which have a major impact on the population.

In the case of Haiti, we are pleased to note that after many efforts by the United Nations and the Organization of American States, the fundamental rights of the Haitian people have finally been re-established and democracy restored with the return of the constitutionally elected President, Jean-Bertrand Aristide. It is appropriate here to pay tribute to the decisive role played by the United States in the implementation of Security Council resolution 940 (1994).

Respect for human rights is a factor for peace and a guarantee of international stability. The full exercise of individual rights presupposes the existence of objective conditions of economic and social organization based on justice and equity.

The international community must promote more just and constructive cooperation between States to combat the perverse effects of poverty and improve material conditions in the most needy countries and among the most handicapped populations.

We are pleased at the results achieved by the World Conference on Human Rights and hope that the resolutions and decisions agreed upon there will contribute to the protection and strengthening of human rights.

Like many preceding speakers, I wish to emphasize, on behalf of Guinea-Bissau, that it is our firm conviction that the Republic of China in Taiwan should regain its place in the United Nations, on the basis of the principles of parallel representation of divided countries. As a full-fledged Member of the United Nations, the Republic of China in Taiwan, with its 20,000,000 inhabitants and its highly advanced stage of economic and technological development, could play a preponderant role on the international scene. We hope that at its next session, which will coincide with the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of our world Organization, the General Assembly will decide to put this item on its agenda.

Guinea-Bissau has just carried out multiparty legislative and presidential elections, which were considered just and transparent by our people and by international observers. These elections, which showed the good citizenship and maturity of the people of Guinea-Bissau, took place in a climate of exemplary civilian peace. Our country is firmly committed to the preservation and the deepening of pluralistic democracy, a condition sine qua non for any type of lasting development.

As emphasized by His Excellency João Bernardo Vieira, President of our Republic, at his inauguration on 29 September this year, there were no losers in the elections in Guinea-Bissau. All the people of Guinea-Bissau and our country's national unity, stability and development were winners.

At this new stage in the history of our country we are of course counting on our people's determination, but also on the international community's support.

We welcome the success of the Uruguay Round and the prospects for international trade that were opened up with the signing of the Marrakesh Agreement and the establishment of the World Trade Organization. We believe that the achievement of the objectives after more than eight years of negotiations, resulting in the Declaration of Marrakesh, should have beneficial consequences for the developing countries, thus enabling trade to play its efficient role as a motor for development.

We believe that it is urgent to revise the current economic order, which strongly penalizes the developing countries. Indeed, these countries, and those of Africa in particular, are faced with the problems of the outflow of capital and the deterioration of the terms of trade, which seriously compromise the economic and social development of the countries of the South. This extremely painful situation is a significant cause of the developing countries' external indebtedness.

The external debt of the developing countries in general and of the African countries in particular remains an unbearable burden for their economies and a major obstacle to their development.

Guinea-Bissau, with the support of its principal economic partners, is continuing its efforts to find an appropriate and lasting solution to the debt problem, which has serious consequences for its socio-economic development.

We consider that the Organization should devote special attention to the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Agrica in the 1990s in order to speed up the process of the socio-economic transformation of the continent. Similarly, we support the rapid implementation of the "Agenda for Development".

The problem of desertification represents a major concern for the Government of Guinea-Bissau, a country which, because it is located in the Sudano-Sahelian region, is faced with persistent irregularities in rainfall, as well as massive invasions of insects that destroy agricultural production. In this context, our country supports the signing of an international convention to combat desertification in those countries experiencing serious drought and/or desertification, particularly in Africa.

The social and economic development activities of the United Nations are in our view aimed in particular at the most vulnerable groups - women, children, young people, the aged and the handicapped. The situation in which the majority of people in the developing world are now living deserves special attention from our Organization.

In fact, the solution of the problem lies in a better development of North-South cooperation. If there is to be progress in the developing countries, health and education systems must be upgraded, and machinery must be established to eradicate hunger and poverty and improve living conditions in the world.

We repeat our support for the convening of the World Summit for Social Development in 1995 and of the Fourth World Conference on Women, as well as the Preparatory Conference in Dakar and Habitat II.

The international community is capable of meeting the challenges facing it and of resolving complex problems. Our Organization has many, sometimes difficult, tasks to accomplish. It is our sincere wish that the process of restructuring the United Nations system, so necessary for the revitalization of the Organization, can be completed, so that the hopes that prevailed at the founding of the United Nations will be seen in a new light when we celebrate the forthcoming fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: The next speaker is the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Economic Development and Attorney General of Belize, His Excellency the Honourable Dean Barrow, on whom I now call.

Mr. Barrow (Belize): The delegation of Belize warmly congratulates you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session. We are proud that such an illustrious son of Africa has been selected to preside over our deliberations in this period leading up to the celebration of the Organization's fiftieth anniversary year.

Permit me too to express my delegation's thanks and praise for the sterling performance of your immediate predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Samuel Insanally of Guyana.

Once again we gather to review the state of world order. And of the year just past it might perhaps be said that it was the best of times and the worst of times.

On the one hand, a jubilant South Africa kept its rendezvous with freedom and now appears to be bathed in sunlight. Furthermore, the peace in the Middle East, presaged by the Agreement on Palestinian self-rule, is taking root. Tension on the Korean peninsula has eased, and the cease-fire in Northern Ireland represents a hitherto unimaginable breakthrough.

On the other hand, the pall of nuclear weapons still hangs over our fragile planet. So does the gloom of conventional armaments, the din of battle and the smell of rotting flesh in the Balkans, parts of our beloved Africa and western and central Asia. In particular, the scale of the tragedy in Rwanda has been incomprehensible. The initial paralysis of will of the world community, our belated response in the face of horrible genocide, has not been our finest hour. That hesitation, that failure of leadership, underscores the need for the United Nations system's preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping mechanisms to be better developed as a matter of urgency.

The fact is that there is still rampant lawlessness abroad on our planet, and we continue to be traumatized by the death and destruction it brings. In particular, the living hell of refugees, fleeing almost inconceivable conditions of terror, seems to have become a stock feature of our end-of-the-century international existence.

In this sort of depressing world political climate, even small countries such as mine must do what we can to ease the pain. Thus it was that Belize became the first small State to agree to participate in the multinational force currently overseeing the end of tyranny in Haiti. We took seriously the Security Council's particular invitation to regional States and hope now that the collective response will succeed in giving our beleaguered sister republic surcease from its unhappy history and a chance of lasting peace and true democracy. We salute the Haitian people and we congratulate President Aristide. We expect soon to be able to send our messages of congratulations direct to the presidential palace in Port-au-Prince.

In Belize's own neighbourhood, the redemocratization of the Central American isthmus continues apace. In the last year, the free elections and orderly transitions of power that have taken place in Panama, Costa Rica, El Salvador and Honduras have vindicated our new-found, or rather rediscovered, destiny. In Guatemala, a plebiscite, congressional elections and the Oslo Agreement between the Government and the *Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca* (URNG) guerrilla group have strengthened the internal order. Furthermore, that country has undertaken, in its letter to the Secretary-General (A/49/94 of 14 March 1994) to abide by pacific principles and good-neighbourliness in its relations with my country. As a Member of this Organization, with our historical and constitutional land and sea borders universally recognized as inviolable in accordance with the principles of self-determination, sovereignty and territorial integrity, Belize welcomes this Guatemalan commitment. It is a further encouragement to regional peace.

Talking of peace, we note with interest the development of the concept of stand-by forces. This idea needs to be deepened and refined, and arrangements should be made for appropriate training in regional training centres. In this regard, Belize's offer to serve as

one such locale, making special use of our jungle terrain and facilities, is a matter of record.

This Organization must be allowed to develop an agency for rapid and effective military deployment. Again, we call for the implementation of Article 43 of the Charter.

What we are saying is that security and world order must be significantly improved. Mankind and the vision of our founders must be vindicated. In that light, we reiterate the call we made during last year's debate for reform of the Security Council. Since that time, we have refined our ideas on that subject. These include our proposals that certain developing countries, on account of sheer population numbers and geopolitical realities, should be permanent, or indefinite, members; that contributions to the peace-keeping budget should be a relevant criterion for permanent, or indefinite, membership; and that, in both existing categories of membership, adjacent States should be permitted to pool their resources as composite or constituency members. We now call upon all the members of this Assembly to ensure that, by the fiftieth anniversary of the Organization, we shall demonstrate our commitment to world order by democratically bringing the Council to a better state of grace.

Another aspect of international order that deserves mention is that of the number of entities which are not fully embraced by the notion of universality in our Charter and which do not participate completely in the system of international order. These entities are mostly in or around the Asia-Pacific region, the Atlantic, the Mediterranean and the Caribbean. We call on all parties in good faith to continue their various dialogues to resolve this issue.

To contribute to this restructuring of world order, we are in the process of finalizing a massive new economic dimension with the conclusion of the multilateral trade negotiations, the establishment of the World Trade Organization, the development of new mechanisms for the resolution of trade disputes and the deepening and widening of the system of norms relating to international commerce. We applaud the transformation of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and these other advances, while urging that the less well-endowed countries receive their due, both under domestic jurisdictions and laws and in adjudications by the new organization. Rampant unilateralism and protectionism must now take a back seat. We are satisfied at the expansion of the institution of non-discrimination into such new areas as trade in services and trade-related investment measures. We are also happy that dumping and subsidies regulations have now been significantly improved and that progress has been made in the trying area of safeguards.

We hope, however, that the thread of liberalism that runs through these new instruments will not become a noose to suffocate those of us that did not inherit a head start. We therefore call for sensitivity in the application of those various provisions for special and differential treatment of such countries.

In the same vein, we would wish for increased sensitization on the part of the Bretton Woods institutions. Even as the global order swings to and fro, we call for improvement of the various mechanisms as they affect our sensitive economies.

In Belize we have begun our own adjustment process. This is necessary if we are to cope with the initial dislocations to small economies, which will be the inevitable consequence of the new international trading realities. As well, the profligate behaviour of the central Government between September 1989 and June 1993 had resulted in an unmanageable deficit, precipitously declining reserves and imprudent short-term, high-interest foreign borrowing.

So we seek now to restore fiscal discipline and regain macro-economic stability. We are also intent on removing the traditional distortions inherent in the domestic trading regime, and on instituting tax reform that will eliminate our overreliance on import duties. This is a process that we must manage carefully, since drastic reductions in public expenditure and trade liberalization will work initial hardship on our local economy. In this context, the Bretton Woods institutions have a duty to respond to our special circumstances. Support for our public and private sectors must be forthcoming, for the brave new economic world that we must enter, whether voluntarily or otherwise, will no doubt prove a most inhospitable clime to those not clothed with the requisite garb.

In particular, the funds for skills training, human resource development and poverty alleviation must be found. Our young people are already hostage to the subculture of violence perpetrated as much by the television images transported undiluted from the first world, as by the indigenous problems peculiar to our small societies. The hope-extinguishing cycle of alienation, joblessness and incarceration must be broken. Otherwise, those nice new economic edifices we are so carefully constructing will come crashing to the ground,

undone by the confrontation and social chaos that continued marginalization of our youth will surely engender.

We repeat, then, that small, hitherto hardy, democracies must not now be swamped by a heedless forward march of soulless economic principles. And the case for urgent Bretton Woods social and economic assistance should be even more compelling in the instance of voluntary, *vis-à-vis* imposed, structural adjustment.

We are somewhat embarrassed that, almost 50 years on, this journey into a putative glorious world order just now sees us seriously crafting new substantive agendas for what are really some very old problems. Yet, we must deal with reality. The development decades and the new international economic order were, in part, chimeric or exercises in rhetoric. But I believe we are truly now engaged in writing a new, coherent, agenda for development. Let it be a properly annotated agenda. In fact, let it be a fully programmed model that entirely anticipates what lies ahead.

We are grateful that this Organization is also taking note of the unfulfilled promises of the Second World War order. It is now 53 years since the call for social justice went out in the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter. Yet we are far from freedom from want and improved social security. Now, with the recently concluded Conference on Population and Development, and with the World Conference on Women and the World Summit for Social Development just before us, the opportunity is here again. Let us seize it and develop bold concepts and effective normative systems. And while we do so, let us continue to develop such recent notions as those relating to the relief of children in difficult circumstances. Let us also develop this Organization's capacity for technical assistance in crime prevention and interdiction to those United Nations Members which are increasingly beset by the scourge of violence, weapons and narcotics. These plagues are, almost invariably, brought on by demands and excesses imported from thousands of miles away, mostly with the aid of the electronic media.

Another area in which we are still in the agenda stage is that of humanitarianism. Despite unfair criticism, the Secretariat has done what it could to carry out the promises made in the Charter. We commend all concerned with the establishment of the Department of Humanitarian Affairs, and we pledge to work beside them.

Another relatively recent watchword is sustainability. It has a redolence to which we have all taken with alacrity. It warns the well-endowed of the truth of the adage "Waste not, want not". It reminds the less fortunate to try to resolve their dilemma wisely, as necessity obliges them to reduce their woodlands while leaching the present vitality of the land. It has brought us out of our slumber and humbled us into sincere discussions about fish stocks, fragile low-lying developing small island and coastal areas, and global warming.

We have seen the Commission for Sustainable Development and the Global Environment Facility take their faltering first steps. While they are to some extent further examples of the somewhat unstructured way in which the Organization is sometimes obliged to operate, we nevertheless commend those agencies. And we sincerely hope that sustainability will keep us whole.

Another area in which the Organization has been discovering its role is human rights. We all recently participated in the stimulating exercise of establishing the post of High Commissioner for Human Rights. We have seen the number of instruments on that subject increase. Human rights bodies have become more experienced and effective. Even in the field of population and development, we notice how the recent Cairo Programme of Action uses human rights as its main point of departure. It is striking that, in places, that document alphabetizes the basic species of human rights. So did the Assembly's resolution establishing the post of High Commissioner. We did this to stress the non-selectivity and neutrality of the various genres of human rights. That is to say, cultural, economic and social rights are as much our concern as civil and political rights. The coincidence of development with population and other concerns in the Cairo document, and the stress of the right to development both in the resolution establishing the post of High Commissioner and in the Cairo document, underscore the coequal importance of that category of right. I believe that we are now seeing the beginning of the concretization of international concern about a wider range of human rights for individuals and, I beg to stress, groups and peoples.

Above all, these recent developments in the field of human rights, sustainable development and social justice are pointing us to the reality that values must become an integral part of statecraft and of diplomacy. Only by inculcating respect for values will our world straighten up and fly right.

In our fledgling world order, my subregion of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) has begun to show

signs of coming of age. We have established several new structures for subregional integration and cooperation. We recently joined our friends and neighbours in the non-English-speaking Caribbean and proximate mainland areas in signing a treaty to establish an ambitious Association of Caribbean States designed to bring about coordination, concentration and cooperation in our far-flung proto-region. Even before this, CARICOM had begun to develop separate cooperative relationships with Central America, Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela. In all of these endeavours, it has become more widely noted that Belize is ideally situated to assist with this bringing together of various subregions. We are equidistant from Tijuana and Paramaribo and, in other respects, are at the very centre of this new Caribbean. Belize is bilingual and multi-cultural. Besides, Belize has a history and a polity which well equip us for this role.

We earlier referred to the issue of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council. This is an important aspect of the world order. It is also the quintessential example of the need for reform and revitalization of this Organization.

The General Assembly's health is generally quite good. However, in some respects it needs improvement. One such area is the roster for this general debate. The annual seating arrangements for our numerous members are made quite democratically and scientifically. Yet the order of the list of speakers in this debate is not fixed in quite the same manner. What is the justification for annually placing certain nations at certain positions at the end of the list? I remember that the Christian Bible makes flattering references to what comes "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings" *(The Bible, Psalms 8:2)*. Similar expressions can be found in every philosophy and religion on this planet. It is time that this be learned and observed by those who prepare the annual speakers' list.

With many others, we call for the development of an improved system of coordination here at Headquarters of the structure of the Organization's machinery in the social and economic sectors. More thought must also be given to the rationalization and coordination of the Organization's multifarious development agencies in the field.

Even as the World Trade Organization and the Bretton Woods institutions develop their separate complexes of structures and prescriptions, my delegation sees a greater need for overall coordination by this premier Organization. The United Nations must be appropriately developed as the first among equals within the global organizational system.

We laud the Secretary-General and the Assembly for improvement in the systems of oversight and conditions of service, especially in the area of gender equity. But equitable distribution of staff posts and responsibilities within all United Nations bodies must be radically improved.

Above all, the United Nations must learn to speak to, not at, the peoples of the world. In the ongoing efforts to rearticulate, reinform and reinforce the vision of the Charter's framers, we can even envisage our Chief Executive going on camera on popular talk shows, teaching new constituencies about what is after all their organization. He should continue to find bully pulpits in the global electronic information meeting-place, for the need to sound the themes that underline the continuing vitality of our world body is particularly urgent at this time. After all, in the run-up to our fiftieth anniversary we must be able to give a proper account of our stewardship, to withstand the special scrutiny we will surely now provoke. Our world Government has to demonstrate that it is relevant, effective, moral and, above all, democratic. It is only then that we can fully expect that it will be able hereafter to call out ever more clearly, forcefully and directly to "We the peoples of the world".

The President *(interpretation from French):* I call next on the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Home Affairs, Trade and Industry of Saint Lucia, His Excellency the Honourable William George Mallet.

Mr. Mallet (Saint Lucia): Permit me, Sir, to extend to you the congratulations of my country and of my delegation on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session. You bring with you to the office of the presidency experience which is both wide and varied. Added to this is your well-known commitment to the ideals and principles that govern this Organization. These qualities together serve to provide us with every confidence that under your distinguished guidance our deliberations cannot but be productive in the furtherance of the objectives of this world body.

I want also to take this opportunity to applaud Ambassador Insanally of Guyana for the distinguished manner in which he led the Assembly during its forty-eighth session.

As the international community gathers once again to bring its collective wisdom to bear on solutions for dealing with problems which continue to threaten the welfare of the world and its people, we cannot but, with a sense of mixed emotions, reflect on what we as a body have been able to accomplish to date. Those emotions range from the satisfaction experienced at the success of our collective efforts to bring about a climate of coexistence and harmony in South Africa and the Middle East - with the prospects now provided for human advancement in those regions - to the sense of deep regret that, even as we record such major successes, the suffering and the waste of human life caused by territorial conflict and the injustice of decisions based on ethnic considerations continue to place serious obstacles in the path of universal progress.

My delegation salutes both President Mandela and Vice President de Klerk for their courage and determination in working together to consolidate their strong beginnings in the direction of a multiracial democracy. My delegation will continue to support the international community in its efforts to assist the millions of deprived South Africans attain a better quality of life.

However, my delegation is still deeply concerned about some other countries in Africa, which continue to wage a hopeless battle against poverty, disease, debt settlement and political strife. It is important that more attention be given to the economic welfare of Africa to prevent other unfortunate massacres similar to those witnessed in Rwanda and Somalia.

In keeping with the spirit of universality that prevails today, Saint Lucia had hoped that the question of full membership of the United Nations for the Republic of China on Taiwan would be favourably considered as a supplementary item on the agenda. Saint Lucia continues to lend its support to the Republic of China on Taiwan in its efforts to achieve full membership of the United Nations, and urges the inclusion of this item on the agenda of the fiftieth session. It is indeed anomalous that a country already making a valuable contribution on the international stage should continue to find itself debarred from participation in the family of nations.

Saint Lucia is heartened by the progress towards peace in the Middle East that has been achieved between Israel and Palestine and between Israel and Jordan. However, my delegation notes with some concern the renewed potential for conflict between Iraq and Kuwait, and again calls upon the Government of Iraq to recognize and respect the territorial integrity of the State of Kuwait.

The devastating conflict in the former Yugoslavia, which the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, has lamented has spared no one in its violence, remains, like several other conflicts around the world, a major focus of peace-keeping and humanitarian efforts by the United Nations.

These conflicts not only challenge the capacity of the United Nations to deal with those problems in a way that would lead to their resolution, but also engender new and frightening dimensions of human suffering, resulting from the large-scale displacement of populations and the concomitant disabilities to which they become exposed.

The net effect of such calamities goes beyond the urgent call for a global response, in that it creates new stresses in the developing world, through the diversion of scarce resources away from peaceful development, into attenuating human suffering.

My delegation therefore wholeheartedly supports efforts by the Secretary-General to foster greater regional involvement in conflict-resolution and in the creation of appropriate humanitarian support structures.

With rising unemployment, poverty and drug abuse, our societies face an almost insurmountable challenge which threatens the ability of our youth to achieve their true potential. The response to this mounting threat resides in a universal blueprint aimed at reversing the economic and social ills from which it springs. In this regard my delegation supports the Secretary-General's Agenda for Development.

The International Conference on Population and Development, held in Cairo this year, was a powerful initiative, however contentious some of the issues may have been. The forthcoming World Summit for Social Development, to be held in Copenhagen and the World Conference on Women, to be held in Beijing, offer prospects of great promise in identifying new approaches to the attainment of productive employment and the release of innate capacities as well as the empowerment and participation of all sectors of the population in the alleviation of their conditions. My country will participate in and support those processes.

Saint Lucia is of the view that the issues leading to the isolation of Cuba from the mainstream of economic and social development within our hemisphere are overdue for re-examination. My delegation calls for the speedy removal of all impediments to Cuba's ability to

participate within the commonwealth of nations in the manner permitted by the Charter of the United Nations.

The recently concluded agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Cuba on immigration is timely and welcome. My delegation expresses the hope that this agreement will open new vistas for further dialogue and greater understanding between the two countries.

Like other countries of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), Saint Lucia shares the vision of hope for Haiti. We are proud to be a participant in the United Nations Mission in Haiti, as we have participated in former means of assistance to Haiti, and, along with our CARICOM counterparts, assisted by the wider international community, will work tirelessly for the successful implantation of true democracy in Haiti. The unfolding events of the past few days give added impetus to the efforts of the regional and international community to bring Haiti towards self-fulfilment within the community of democratic nations.

It has been made clear that the holding of democratic elections and the installation of a legitimate Government cannot by themselves guarantee democracy, especially in a country devoid of democratic traditions. To sustain such democratic beginnings, appropriate structures must be put in place, adequately resourced in both human and material terms, and suitable support mechanisms must be designed and firmly rooted. Above all, there must be the international will to encourage, facilitate and enrich this democratic process, as would be exemplified through massive development assistance over a sustained period.

The global economic situation is at present at a critical crossroads, reflecting a speedily moving trend towards trade liberalization and the need for national economies to improve their own efficiency and competitiveness.

The constraints of smallness have continually conspired against States like Saint Lucia in terms of its ability meaningfully to raise its gross domestic product. While the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and its successor organization the World Trade Organization, seem to offer medium- and long-term benefits at least to some developed countries, there remains a nagging concern among developing countries that certain barriers may still remain, or be created, that would effectively militate against the products of developing countries entering the markets of developed countries.

My delegation joins with the rest of the developing world in calling upon the developed world, and the major international institutions, to re-examine their policies and emphases, with a view to adopting measures that can realistically assist small developing economies in their attempts to keep pace with the dictates of contemporary economic trends.

Of particular concern must be the consequences of these new developments for small island States such as ours, whose exposed economies make them vulnerable and sensitive to changes that take place elsewhere. Saint Lucia's economy, for instance, has already experienced the shock resulting from changes brought about by the advent of the European Union.

Saint Lucia's economy is highly dependent on its export of bananas to the European Union and despite new arrangements put in place to provide limited access guarantees for fruit from African, Caribbean and Pacific States (ACP) - and Saint Lucia expresses its appreciation to those European States that have been instrumental in securing these arrangements - the industry in Saint Lucia has experienced a devastating downturn in prices, which in turn has been directly responsible for the economic disruption, and its allied social instability, that occurred during the latter part of 1993 and this year, 1994.

It is to be regretted that even the limited concessions provided by Europe in discharge of its treaty obligations, have been subjected to a withering attack by forces which seem fully prepared to see the economies of small island States, already possessing so little room for flexibility, placed in total jeopardy.

That is the experience that urges this delegation again to call the attention of the international community to the special circumstances of small island developing States and the need for particular measures to deal with their peculiar circumstances.

The Government of Saint Lucia has been observing with some concern the development of the North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA), given the serious adverse consequences it will have in the medium term and long term for relatively nascent industries and the micro-economies of our small States. My Government regrets that United States legislation on NAFTA contains no expressed arrangement which takes into account the limits of our industrial base. Consequently, the fragility of our economies will only worsen, resulting in economic and social discontent.

In this regard we appeal to the international community for special trade considerations while adjustments are made to meet the international challenges that the world economic environment engenders.

The countries of the Caribbean Community, cognizant of the rapidly changing economic environment, and the urgent need for cooperative effort to adjust, and in some cases, survive the challenges ensuing from this change, have undertaken measures to deepen their relations with their Caribbean neighbours by formally creating the Association of Caribbean States (ACS), membership of which encompasses all countries washed by the Caribbean Sea. We hope the international community will be helpful in encouraging this self-help initiative to achieve its full potential.

Last year, at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, the issue of sustainable development was accepted as a major component to be included in the development agendas of countries the world over. Arising out of the universal blueprint emerging from that Conference is the recognition, at last, of the peculiar circumstances of small island developing States in their pursuit of sustainable development.

Designing development policies and implementing programmes for small island States such as Saint Lucia require considerable imagination and ingenuity, as was shown by the Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States, held in Barbados earlier this year.

A successful follow-up to that Conference would rely heavily on financial resources for the implementation of its findings. My delegation calls upon the international community to provide active support to the United Nations Development Programme, which has been charged with the responsibility for the coordination and implementation of the programme of action.

Our small island State, Saint Lucia, seems to oscillate between triumph and disaster. Last year we highlighted our triumphs in the recognition of our two Nobel laureates. This year the disastrous hand of nature in the form of tropical storm "Debbie" struck Saint Lucia, dramatically emphasizing the vulnerability of small island developing States. Over an 11-hour period, this small 660-square-kilometre territory, historically dependent on agriculture, mainly bananas, tourism and small-scale manufacturing, was battered by nearly 15 inches of rain, resulting in four deaths by drowning, numerous landslides, and massive flooding that destroyed bridges, roads, houses, and 60 per cent of the banana crop. Even our international airport lay buried temporarily beneath two feet of water and mud.

With over 50 per cent of the working population of Saint Lucia engaged in banana-associated enterprises, and with more than 50 per cent of export earnings derived from banana exports, destruction of 60 per cent of the banana crop cannot but create serious economic and social consequences for us. This again underscores the vulnerability of small States like ours, and the need for the international community to recognize their special peculiarities and needs and to make appropriate provisions to facilitate their survival.

Permit me, on behalf of my Prime Minister, and the Government and people of Saint Lucia, to express profound thanks and appreciation to the several members and agencies of our Organization for their expressions of sympathy, concern and support, and, in several cases, offers or tangible manifestations of assistance in our time of need.

As we focus on the milestone of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations and its Charter, we should perceive the ideas that subtend this body as a cementing balm that would bring the disparate pieces of our shattered globe together in peace, harmony, creativity and beauty. The United Nations has over the years been party to the achievement of many political strides towards democratization and unprecedented levels of cooperation between nation States.

The global situation that necessitated the creation of the United Nations has undergone tremendous changes over the last 50 years. Our membership has more than doubled, and, as we continue to witness the emergence of new States, social and economic demands increase, coupled with new, pressing concerns, such as the environment, women's rights, children's rights and good governance, to name a few. My delegation supports the demand for enhancing the resources of the United Nations to enable it to cope with its expanded responsibilities. It is also necessary that this Assembly be made more effective and efficient in the execution of its functions, so that it can become more responsive to the needs particularly of developing countries, and can assist those countries in their development processes.

Saint Lucia joins scores of other delegates in calling for an increase in the membership of the Security Council to reflect the increase in membership of this Organization and the concept of universality that the Charter advocates. It is also necessary that the Security Council allow for more consultation with the General Assembly in its deliberations so that its perspectives may become even more reflective of the world community.

In his Nobel Prize acceptance speech in 1993, entitled "The Antilles, Fragments of an Epic Memory," Saint Lucia's Poet Laureate, Derek Walcott, said:

> "Break a vase and the love that reassembles the fragments is stronger than that love which took its symmetry for granted when it was whole."

We see in this idea the touchstone for the United Nations and the international community as this Organization approaches its anniversary year. We can extend this perception to embrace the cracked vases of our globe, in which the horrors of Somalia, the demoralization and brutality of Haiti, the carnage of the Anglo-Irish conflict and the racial bigotry in other parts of the world are all seen as products of the accident of history and the poverty of the human spirit. It is hoped that through the efforts of the United Nations a renewed humanitarianism will be engendered and bound with a strength that guarantees peace and the well-being of the world and its people.

Mr. Pursoo (Grenada): My delegation is pleased to convey warmest greetings from the Government and people of Grenada to the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session. We also wish to extend sincere congratulations to Your Excellency Mr. Amara Essy, Foreign Minister of Côte d'Ivoire, on your election to the presidency of this session. The Government of Grenada takes this opportunity to commend Ambassador Samuel Insanally, the first representative from the Caribbean ever to hold the high office of President of the General Assembly, for his exemplary conduct of the proceedings of the forty-eighth session. We are indeed proud of his performance.

Grenada also wishes to express profound appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his relentless efforts in the pursuit of the purposes of this Organization.

Grenada is pleased to welcome the new South Africa to the United Nations, and we pay special tribute to His Excellency President Nelson Mandela for his resolute will and firm determination in the fight against apartheid, which eventually resulted in this new, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Grenada is pleased that in recent efforts to bring an end to the illegal seizure of power by the military in Haiti and to halt the ensuing human rights abuses there diplomacy prevailed and further bloodshed was averted. We now eagerly await the reinstatement of the duly elected Government and its President, Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide, and the return of democracy to Haiti. We support the actions taken by the United States of America and other multinational forces in implementation of United Nations resolutions on Haiti, and we join like-minded nations as they move to establish the structures in which development and democracy can be sustained.

Grenada is prepared to do its part to ensure a more fertile ground for the growth of democracy in Haiti, our sister Caribbean country. We are proud that, within the limits of our resources, personnel from Grenada's law enforcement services are among the multinational contingent to help in "Operation Uphold Democracy". After all, it was 11 years ago this month that Grenada itself profited from a similar multinational operation, affording us the historic opportunity to restore democratic principles to our way of life. It is therefore only natural that Grenada should wish Haiti well and should be prepared to support democracy in that country as fully as we do.

Over the last several years many of the small developing countries within this Organization have been experiencing growing economic problems. The forced response has been to take stringent corrective measures aimed at stabilizing their economies and creating the conditions for sustainable development. Speaking specifically of my own country, Grenada, I can inform the Assembly that in 1992 we embarked on a voluntary three-year structural adjustment programme in an effort to correct serious fiscal imbalances and to put the country on a path of sustained growth.

This year marks the end of the programme, and I am happy to report that some success has been achieved. The Government has significantly reduced the fiscal deficits from 25 per cent of gross domestic product in 1992 to 11 per cent in 1993 and 9 per cent to date. Moreover, Grenada's credit rating has improved notably, with its creditworthiness restored by the World Bank in June of this year after having been forfeited in 1988.

Whatever success has been recorded by that programme is a credit to regionalism, since the programme was instituted with enormous regional inputs. Grenada wishes publicly to thank the regional Governments and institutions which contributed to the effort. This particular development means that Grenada is now viewed more favourably by the multilateral and specialized donor agencies and friendly Governments in terms of external financial assistance for its development programmes.

Despite the good fiscal performance, the structural-adjustment programme has not been able to achieve its targets in terms of the growth rate of the gross domestic product. Thus, over the next two years much emphasis will be placed on achieving a reasonable rate of economic growth. In addition, efforts to reduce the fiscal deficits further will continue to be vigorously pursued.

You, Mr. President, are well aware that a topic of particular currency in the area of international economic relations is the issue of trade and investment. Of course, over the past months new trading blocs have been created, with the result that in the Western Hemisphere we now have several such arrangements, which include the very important North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). While all the implications of NAFTA are not yet known, we must nevertheless now seek to position our economies to interface with the realities of this new economic environment.

In that context, the conclusion of the latest round of the negotiations of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) has very far-reaching consequences for trade. The requirements of trade liberalization and reciprocity mean that small island developing States like Grenada must now interact on the same playing field as the more developed countries, which, in effect, signals a rapid erosion of the preferential treatment that some of us have enjoyed over the past two decades. The removal of access to market arrangements traditionally favourable to fledgling industries in our societies - the banana industry, for example - compounds our difficulties and presents a major threat to the overall well-being of our small economies. Furthermore, the creation of the World Trade Organization would most definitely change the face of international trade, and while every independent nation has the opportunity to become a party to that Organization and thus attempt to influence its operations, it is evident that, on that score, equality will not necessarily ensure equity. We are cognizant of the fact that we must now seek to enhance our productivity and competitiveness in carefully selected areas if we are to survive in this era of trade liberalization. But, more often than not, we cannot do it alone, and this is why my delegation appeals to the developed countries to be considerate of our fragile economies and the need to adapt to this seemingly hostile economic environment.

The recent success of the United Nations Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States, held in Barbados, and the adoption of its Programme of Action underscore the urgent need for international co-operation and assistance, not only in the form of financial resources for the implementation of the Programme of Action, but also in access to markets, acquisition of new technologies and institutional and human-resource development, so as to enable us to respond more capably to the challenges of finding new paths to sustainable development.

The advances made since the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development must be built upon, and in this regard the importance of forging new global partnerships between developed and developing countries ought to be given priority. The protection of the global climate and biological diversity, the sustainable use and conservation of all marine resources and the protection of our oceans and high seas require urgent international assistance and cooperation.

My delegation therefore looks forward to the fulfilment of the obligations of the developed countries that have pledged their commitment to assist developing countries and, in particular, small island developing States, in the implementation of the decisions and recommendations of Agenda 21, the conventions on climate change and biodiversity and all the follow-up conferences of the Rio Conference.

For several years Grenada has expressed its concern at the apparent unbalanced resource commitment to security issues versus development. Consequently, my delegation commends recently expanded efforts aimed at giving greater prominence to the development needs confronting the world, particularly in the developing countries. We applaud the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Development" and we applaud the former President of the General Assembly, His Excellency Mr. Samuel Insanally, for his visionary initiative in organizing the World Hearings on Development in June of this year. We urge that the momentum gained therefrom be maintained, and we wish to place on record our support for Brazil's call for a global conference on development in the year 1996.

The question of population and development is a very sensitive issue, one that demands continuous conscientious global effort. Grenada is encouraged by the consensus which emerged from the recently concluded International Conference on Population and Development at Cairo, and we are hopeful that increasingly balanced development will be viewed as the essential basis on which to treat the issue of population.

We are also confident that the Conference on Women to be held at Beijing in 1995 will address one of the long-standing issues critical to development, that is, the issue of women in development.

In March of 1995 world leaders will gather in Copenhagen to address one of the most pressing questions of our time, the question of social development. We will be asked to rule on the debilitating issues of poverty, meaningful employment and social inclusion. We will be asked to rule particularly in the interest of youth, the aged, the disabled and all those outside the mainstream of social integration.

Grenada is confident that the World Summit for Social Development and all the other follow-ups to the Rio Conference are replacing despair with hope worldwide. At the same time, we are concerned about the different spins that may be put on the interpretation of those agreements. For example, we are concerned that environmental causes should not be used as barriers to access for goods produced in developing countries to the markets of those with more prosperous economies. We hope that, on the contrary, the developed countries will appreciate the need to assist the poorer countries to gain access to the technologies and technological know-how necessary to the promotion of more-balanced development on a global scale.

Stability within and between States is a prerequisite for international peace and security. Grenada is encouraged by certain developments, beginning almost a year ago with the signing of the historic peace treaty between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization. We believe that the emergence of self-rule in Jericho and Gaza is of great significance. We look forward to further positive developments in the Middle East peace process and wish all the countries in that region the peace and stability upon which lasting prosperity will be built.

Grenada is encouraged by the diplomatic efforts in the search for a permanent solution to the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We commend the United Nations for its resolve and determination in this regard. We fully support the establishment of the International Tribunal to try allegations of war crimes in the former Yugoslavia. By the same token, Grenada fully supports similar initiatives in response to situations in other parts of the world, where these are deemed appropriate.

In the light of the unfortunate circumstances in Rwanda that resulted in the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives, and bearing in mind other situations of human devastation, Grenada wishes to express its satisfaction with the responses from those members of the international community that have gone to the aid of people in various sorry situations. We also wish to convey our appreciation to the relief agencies and others whose tireless efforts have saved lives, restored health to the sick and hungry and brought comfort to countless victims - particularly women and children.

My delegation wishes to underscore the importance of human rights, freedom and good governance as vital preconditions to domestic quietude, international harmony and the creation of the climate necessary for the achievement of progress within societies. In this regard, the promotion and protection of the rights of children is an issue that cries out for greater attention. The well-being of children cannot wait for the unprompted evolution of societies. Deliberate efforts must be expedited at various levels, global and national, to ensure the promotion and protection of children's rights. Likewise, in this the International Year of the Family and beyond, emphasis should continue to be placed on the pivotal role of the family in national and global development.

The end of the cold-war era presents opportunities for a shift from political and ideological divide to cooperation in the areas of economic and social development. New economic Powers on the world scene seek to occupy positions that were once the prerogative of the traditional super-Powers. Grenada believes that the structure of the organs of the United Nations should reflect these new developments and, at the same time, make provision for geographical representation that is consistent with today's global, political and economic realities. Reforms currently being undertaken in the United Nations system provide an opportunity to examine the question of expanding the Security Council and the question of the veto power in the light of these new realities.

Grenada supports the principle of universality and encourages the General Assembly to give renewed

consideration to the wish of the Republic of China - a founding Member of the United Nations - to participate in the Organization and its specialized agencies as a full Member. We believe that this appeal from the 21 million people of the Republic of China in Taiwan for a voice and proper representation in the international community is both moral and legitimate. The inclusion of the Republic of China in Taiwan in the United Nations would further contribute to global cooperation in trade, economic development and environmental and ecological protection. In addition, it would assist in the promotion of international development assistance to developing countries. Grenada believes that a committee should be set up to examine the exceptional nature of the situation of the Republic of China in the present international context.

So long as drug traffickers and international arms dealers continue to ply their trade, and so long as mercenaries, terrorists and other adventurists exist, the protection and security of small States will remain particularly vulnerable to acts of aggression, from without as well as from within.

While the United Nations Charter recognizes the right of States to take measures in self-defence, the reality is that often small States faced with serious threats lack the means to do so. Small States invariably look to the provisions of the United Nations Charter to secure respect for and preservation of their sovereignty. It is therefore necessary that the protection and security of small States remain a very pertinent issue among the concerns of the United Nations.

The tasks of the organs and bodies of the United Nations are by no means easy. Old tensions have given way to new tensions and concerns, which demand imaginative approaches if solutions are to be found. As we embark upon preparations for the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations in 1995, let us train our sights on the factors that brought the United Nations into being in the first instance and on what gives the Organization its special worthiness.

The challenge is to attain and maintain long-term global peace and stability and to enhance the prospects for solving global problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian nature. To this end, we as a community of nations must rededicate ourselves to working ever relentlessly and concertedly towards the goal of making our planet a safer, better and happier place in which to live.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Burundi, His Excellency, Mr. Jean-Marie Ngendahayo.

Mr. Ngendahayo (Burundi) *(interpretation from French):* It is an honour and a privilege for me to address the Members of this Organization. In doing so, I convey the greetings of the President of the Republic of Burundi, His Excellency Mr. Sylvestre Ntibantunganya, and of the Government and people of Burundi, as well as their good wishes for every success at this session of the General Assembly.

I should like also to greet and congratulate His Excellency Mr. Amara Essy, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Côte d'Ivoire, on his unanimous election to preside over the General Assembly's work at this session.

Your statesmanlike qualities, developed in the course of a long and rich career as a diplomat, augur well for great success at this forty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Through your impressive election, the General Assembly has once again paid tribute to Africa and to your country, so committed to peace and international cooperation. I assure you that my delegation will give you every support as you strive to fulfil your mandate.

My congratulations also go to the other members of the Bureau, who, I feel sure, will spare no effort in their practical support for you in the successful accomplishment of your heavy responsibilities.

I should also like warmly to congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Samuel Insanally of the Republic of Guyana, who, as President at the forty-eighth session, guided the work of the Assembly masterfully and with exemplary commitment.

Lastly, we pay a warm tribute to Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Secretary-General of the United Nations, for all the activities he has initiated in order to cope with the many challenges and enormous difficulties facing our Organization today. We believe that these obstacles are not insurmountable provided that there is honest commitment and solidarity on the part of the international community. Thanks to the resolve and perseverance of this Organization, which mobilized the Member States against apartheid, peace and democracy have now triumphed in South Africa. The people and the Government of Burundi have already welcomed this well-

deserved victory of the valiant South African people, who have thus resumed their place in the concert of nations.

The current session of the General Assembly is being held at a time of many serious and unexpected events. There have been natural disasters throughout the world: famine, civil war, terrorism and other scourges of modern times, such as religious fundamentalism and the re-emergence of exclusionary movements, associations or political parties, all bearing within them the seeds of division.

A year ago, from this very rostrum, the late President Melchior Ndadaye conveyed to this Assembly a message of peace, friendship, brotherhood and solidarity. This occurred just after the pluralist elections of June 1993, which the entire world had found to be free and transparent. Then, on 21 October 1993, President Ndadaye was assassinated in a rash and senseless act that plunged Burundi into desolation, division and political and ethnic massacres, and sorely tested the hard-won democracy. Since that fateful day, Burundi has suffered a serious political, institutional, social and economic crisis, the repercussions of which are still being felt today. We all recall the unbearable images broadcast by the international media.

Let us further recall that the successor to President Ndadaye, Mr. Cyprien Ntaryamira, died tragically in an airplane accident in Kigali on 6 April 1994, which also took the life of the Rwandese Head of State. Misfortunes never come singly; Burundi had the terrible shock of losing two Presidents in less than six months. This situation has profoundly traumatized the people of Burundi. Some wondered if Burundi would be able to avoid the human cataclysm recently experienced by its neighbour Rwanda. Indeed, the institutional crisis that resulted from the vacuum of power, and the various manifestations of violence that followed, crystallized latent antagonisms, exacerbated latent ethnic divisions and created an atmosphere of suspicion and intolerance that was prejudicial to peace.

Despite the dark picture I have just painted, the people of Burundi has not succumbed to despair. Indeed, the registered political parties and the representatives of civil society have met in a negotiating forum and begun in-depth discussions with a view to finding ways and means of ensuring a swift return to peace, security, trust and socio-economic and political stability in the country.

The lengthy discussions which began after the death of President Cyprien Ntaryamira last April recently led to the signing on 10 September 1994 of a government convention. This document is a basis for the reestablishment of State institutions and organs of State and of various legal and political mechanisms which will restore trust and cooperation between the political partners. The successful outcome of these lengthy negotiations has allowed the people of Burundi to heave a sigh of relief. The people had begun to tire and above all to question the good faith of politicians who, as far as the people could see, were more concerned with their own selfish interests than in peace and the development for one and all.

We take this opportunity to thank the international community for the role it has played in encouraging the people of Burundi to pursue national dialogue and cooperation. We are particularly grateful to the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity for the decisive role they played in ensuring the successful outcome of the negotiations. The Special Representatives of the Secretaries-General of these organizations, Ambassadors Ahmedou Ould Abdallah and Léandre Bassole respectively, participated at every stage of the negotiations we have just concluded. We welcome the progress made together through this preventive diplomacy.

We believe that the choice of a consensus President, Mr. Sylvestre Ntibantunganya, the consensus nomination of a Prime Minister from the opposition, and the formation of a coalition Government are all factors conducive to restoring security and confidence among the various elements of Burundi society and to promoting the return of displaced persons and refugees to their homes in the hills. They are also very important in encouraging reconstruction and the economic recovery of the country.

The new national coalition government that arose from the consensus reached in the negotiations between the political partners has, as its main tasks, the reconstruction of the economic and social infrastructures that were partly or totally demolished, the campaign against a general sense of impunity, and the establishment of conditions guaranteeing the safety and peace of all in Burundi. The tasks ahead are enormous and cannot be carried out without the solidarity and assistance of the international community on a bilateral and/or multilateral basis.

We also take this opportunity to recall the request made by the Government of Burundi for the organization of a neutral international inquiry to establish responsibility for the October 1993 putsch and the ensuing massacres. The international community has always stood by us in times of anguish and we feel sure that it will continue to support our efforts by providing emergency special assistance for economic recovery and reconstruction.

We also reiterate our appeal to the United Nations and friendly countries to continue to support the proponents of peace and progress in Burundi and to discourage and condemn all those at home and abroad who may be tempted to use violence to resolve the problems we are experiencing. Today silence means complicity and is criminal.

Lasting solutions to Burundi's political problems can be found only if they are dealt with in a subregional context. For some years now we have been witnessing forced movements of populations following violence perpetrated in some countries of our subregion. These movements, often out of control, are a threat to peace and stability throughout the Great Lakes region.

No one can fail to see that the tragedy of Rwanda has shocked human conscience at the subregional, regional and international levels. It is shameful not only for those behind genocide, or those who have committed it, but also for mankind as a whole, which has not been able to rush to the aid of a people in peril. My country hopes that those guilty of this crime against humanity will be brought to justice and receive the punishment they deserve. We encourage the Government of Rwanda to continue its policy of reconciliation and to do its utmost to ensure that all Rwandese refugees can return to their homeland.

The crisis in Rwanda has had most regrettable consequences for neighbouring States - above all for Burundi, which has ethnic, linguistic and cultural similarities to Rwanda. The Rwandese tragedy has had political, security, economic, humanitarian and environmental consequences. We need not go into details, because the whole world saw on television the human tide flee fighting to take refuge in neighbouring countries, such as Burundi, Tanzania and Zaire. The refugee problem has been acute in our subregion since the 1960s. As the Assembly knows, it is both a humanitarian and a political problem. It causes discord between neighbouring States and has engendered mistrust between them. Some see refugees as an economic and social burden, while others consider them a threat to their security.

For these reasons, we propose that an international conference on peace, stability and development in the African Great Lakes subregion be organized as soon as possible. In the short term, it is a matter of resolving the refugee problem. In the medium term, inter-State mechanisms should be established to safeguard peace, bolster stability and promote socio-economic development. Such a conference could pave the way for the creation of a more viable economic community combining existing organizations, such as the Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries and the Kagera River Basin Organization and adapting them better to the realities of our subregion. We believe such a conference would help integrate our States, which share an almost identical history, the same geographical space and, above all, an ability to communicate through common languages. My delegation is willing to make specific proposals on this matter.

Next year the United Nations will celebrate half a century of existence. In 50 years the Organization has accomplished a great many tasks. It has overcome many obstacles, survived the cold war and contributed to the advent of international détente. Its specialized agencies have assisted millions of people in distress. The Organization has always committed itself to actions to maintain international peace and security. It has been able to foster friendly relations between nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights of peoples and their right to self-determination. The United Nations has contributed to dialogue between the peoples and States of the world by encouraging relations of cooperation and solidarity.

None the less, the Organization, like any human enterprise, is far from perfect. Despite efforts to settle armed conflicts, we must note that the brinksmanship and intransigence of certain belligerents diminish hopes for peace.

In Africa, the conflicts in Somalia, Angola and Liberia seem to go on for ever, notwithstanding the efforts of the United Nations to resolve them.

With regard to the crisis in Somalia, we know it was the massive intervention of the Blue Helmets that led the parties involved to the negotiating table. The operation inspired some hope that the people of Somalia would achieve reconciliation. Unfortunately, the conflict continues. Burundi believes the United Nations should continue this operation, using all the means authorized by the Charter. At the same time, we call on the parties

involved to settle their differences peacefully and to lend every possible assistance to any mediation effort.

As to Angola, the political and military situation has continued to deteriorate, with an escalation of the fighting and greater mistrust between the belligerents. While welcoming the resumption of the negotiating process between the Government of Angola and UNITA, my State wishes to repeat its appeal for a cessation of the hostilities that have brought so much suffering to the people of Angola.

In Liberia, peace has not yet been restored. There has been delay in full implementation of the Cotonou Agreement - signed on 25 July 1993 by the Interim Government of National Unity, the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) and the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO), under the auspices of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity - aimed at finding a peaceful settlement to the conflict. The Republic of Burundi pays tribute to the efforts made by ECOWAS and the United Nations to bring about a peaceful settlement of that conflict, which continues to bring such grief to the people of Liberia.

We also support the United Nations peace plan for Western Sahara, which involves a referendum to allow the Saharan people to choose their own destiny.

Africa is today the scene of the largest number of armed conflicts in the world. This political instability means we cannot tackle development in our countries, despite the vast natural resources of our continent. We believe it is high time Africans stopped blaming their misfortunes on outside factors. We firmly believe that Africa must shoulder its responsibilities and define the main lines of its development in accordance with its realities. We must respect our identity while accepting any positive contribution from outside. Burundi has no doubt the time will come when Africa will show its capacity for self-improvement and that it will be able to contribute more to the well-being of mankind. In other words, through the democratic reforms now under way, our continent, which is currently undergoing a period of upheaval, will attain the freedom and development it so desires.

My country welcomes the new era opening up in the Middle East. The peoples of that region are finally going to be able to work together for peace, security and development. We pay tribute to all the countries and institutions that contributed to the mediation efforts and encourage them to continue their diplomatic efforts with a view to a final and irreversible settlement of that conflict, which has lasted far too long.

The situation in the Balkans is also a matter of concern. Work must continue to reconcile the positions of the various parties. War does not resolve problems of coexistence and good-neighborliness between peoples.

On the Korean peninsula, we wish for the voluntary and peaceful reunification of Korea. We also encourage continued negotiations between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States of America, in the hope that they will remove all uncertainties with regard to the nuclear problem.

As the Secretary-General pointed out so aptly in "An Agenda for Development", there can be no peace without development. And the 1994 World Human Development Report also states:

> "The absence of peace can indeed hinder development; but without development, peace is threatened."

Development requires international cooperation and assistance from other States. The Charter sets as one of the purposes of the United Nations:

> "to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion".

Problems arising from the maintenance of peace and security and those of a humanitarian character, particularly after the cold war, have led the Organization to extend its operations to the four corners of the Earth. Some observers even fear that development activities will be neglected so long as urgent and immediate needs monopolize the Organization. Some go so far as to say that the discussion on development should be shifted from the General Assembly to other, better equipped institutions.

In Burundi, we consider that development, and the related problems and needs, must also be one of the priorities of the United Nations. There can be no better place than the General Assembly to deal with problems as global and interconnected as poverty, debt, the

environment, development assistance and other equally thorny world-wide issues.

On the matter of combating poverty and other social problems, Burundi places great hope in the upcoming World Summit for Social Development, where it intends to be represented at the appropriate level. Our delegation will spare no effort to ensure that the declaration to be adopted at the Copenhagen Summit will correctly reflect the concerns of poor peoples.

The external debt problem of the developing countries is also a crisis, and it must be dealt with more innovatively than it has been in the past. Many strategies have been adopted to resolve the problem. Specific actions have been taken by creditors to restructure commercial debt and in some cases to cancel bilateral debt. But as the Secretary-General has pointed out, to date, the efforts made to lighten the burden of multilateral debt have been far from satisfactory.

The subject of multilateral debt should thus also be carefully studied. My country hopes that the discussion to be held on the agenda item on debt will result in conclusions that can lighten the burden of multilateral debt, particularly with regard to the fragile economies of the least developed countries.

The current situation regarding trade relations is extremely disturbing. The industrialized countries are erecting major barriers to the importation of certain products from developing countries. At the same time, however, the latter countries, under the effect of liberalization policies, are opening wide their doors to foreign competition.

According to the most reliable sources, the damage done to developing countries exceeds the amount of aid allotted to them; however, should the rich countries eliminate all obstacles to the importation of products from the third world, the increase in exports from developing countries would equal twice the aid granted to these countries.

The conclusion of the Uruguay Round and the creation of the World Trade Organization augur well for a more orderly and equitable system of world trade. We maintain the hope that accompanying measures will be taken to avoid the marginalization of developing countries in the multilateral trade system. We are thinking, in particular, of the least developed countries which run the risk of being poor relations within the new World Trade Organization.

For some years, the international community has been aware of the non-sustainable nature of the development and consumption patterns followed thus far, without concern for the protection of the environment.

As the Secretary-General emphasizes in "An Agenda for Development", the environment, like peace, the economy, society and democracy, permeates all aspects of development. In the last few years, the General Assembly has seriously taken up the issues of environment and development. The Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, in June 1992, gave birth to international legal instruments which, if implemented, will ensure a better environment and more harmonious development for the Earth and its inhabitants. My country, Burundi, has already signed these instruments, and it will soon ratify them.

Burundi has been closely following the discussion that has been under way for some time at the United Nations with a view to reforming and improving the working methods of the Security Council. The ideas put forward are quite diverse. We earnestly hope that this discussion will lead to a solution that will preserve the effectiveness of the Security Council while allowing the developing countries to have their voices heard within that body.

If the democratic reforms desired by our peoples are to be lasting and irreversible, there must be support from the international community, for democracy against a backdrop of social crisis, unemployment, or poverty, could prove illusory. My country places great hope in the United Nations, which alone can contribute to solving mankind's current problems, such as those of population, the environment, economic and social development and health, particularly at a time when certain countries of the world are shaken by endemic illnesses. We cannot pass over in silence the scourge of our time - AIDS. The international community must pool its efforts to suppress this scourge.

We express the hope that the United Nations will continue to pursue the ideals and purposes contained in its Charter. May international relations become more democratic, and a new, more just and equitable, political and economic order emerge.

We also hope that, as this century draws to a close, our Organization will be able to achieve tangible results, particularly in removing the spectres of hunger, poverty and war.

We all aspire to peace, justice and freedom. In our endeavours, we must succeed in achieving them, in order to give future generations the opportunity to live in a better world.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I now call on the representative of Sudan, who wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply. May I remind representatives that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and 5 minutes for the second, and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. Yassin (Sudan) *(interpretation from Arabic):* The fact that some delegations have voiced concern over the continuing conflict in the south of Sudan and the suffering of our citizens makes it necessary for us to reply.

It is the Sudan, the principal party which bears the brunt of the continuing war and conflict, that is more concerned over the situation, because the attrition caused by this war depletes the material resources we are very much in need of for our progress and development. This is a war that could not have lasted so long were it not for the direct support the rebels have continued to receive from outside Powers which do not want Sudan to focus on its progress, development and the consolidation of its unity. This problem which was engineered and buried in our soil by colonialism has been a time bomb and a thorn in the side of Sudan since before its independence.

I should add that the present Government, since it came into power in June 1989, has accorded the highest priority to this problem. As early as September 1989, it organized a national peace conference on the issues of peace. The conference made it clear that this was a political problem that arose from discrepancies between the levels of development in different parts of the country.

Not content with this, the Government negotiated with the rebels in Addis Ababa in August 1989, and in Nairobi in November 1989. It then held two rounds of talks in Abuja. The Government did not even wait for the end of the negotiations to lay the groundwork for a solution. It introduced a federalist system wherein the country was divided into 26 states, 10 of which are in the south. The Government established "peace villages" and initiated development projects in the southern states wherein it set up local governments. This led to the return of large numbers of people to those states in the context of the internal peace efforts. Those returnees worked for the local development projects in education, agriculture, and other fields.

In pursuing the negotiating process which it regarded as the best means for the achievement of a peaceful and just settlement to the problem, the Government requested the Intergovernmental Authority for Drought and Development (IGADD) to ensure continued participation by parties in the negotiations. As an earnest indication of the Government's desire for peace, it suggested the setting up of a more practical mechanism that would ensure continued negotiation in the context of shuttle diplomacy. This was motivated by the desire to speed up negotiations, as a certain slowness was noticed in IGADD's mediation. We are fully convinced that the rebels are not negotiating in real earnest. They have resorted to procrastination, evasion and procedural tactics with the aim of stalling negotiations. Their human rights violations, the kidnapping and conscription of children and killing of relief workers are proof positive that they bear the primary responsibility for the lack of progress in the negotiations.

The statement by the Foreign Minister of sisterly Zambia, who spoke of his country's concern over the general deterioration of human rights in Sudan, is strange indeed. The Ambassador of Sudan, when he presented his credentials to the President of Zambia last week, heard from the President positive remarks concerning Sudan and expressions of keen interest in relations between Sudan and Zambia.

It should be noted that Sudan was the first country the President of Zambia visited, following his election to the presidency. It is regrettable that the Foreign Minister's statement echoed the baseless propaganda campaign waged against my Government. Sudan has kept its doors open to all those who wished to inform themselves as to the situation of human rights in Sudan. All those who visited Sudan found out for themselves that the reason for this campaign was political vindictiveness, and that it rests on nothing but selectivity and bias.

As for the document that has been distributed with the statement of the Chairman of the European Union (EU), it supported the Special Rapporteur whose report contained columny against the religion of Islam which

has more than one billion followers the world over. Moreover, this Rapporteur has made himself a self-appointed party to the internal politics of Sudan by participating in all the activities of the opposition in Sudan. This deprives him of impartiality required in an international civil servant who acts on behalf of the international community.

Sudan reaffirms that the refusal to delete the paragraphs attacking Islam will prevent Sudan from cooperating with this Rapporteur.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I now call on the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who wishes to address the General Assembly.

The Secretary-General: Thank you, Mr. President, for giving me this opportunity to speak to the Assembly about the financial situation of the Organization.

Many Member States have addressed this issue during the general debate - often in candid terms.

It has been pointed out that there is no use talking about reshaping the responsibilities of the United Nations unless the resources are there to carry out those responsibilities.

It has been said that the capacity of the United Nations to respond to the demands made on it for peace-keeping depends on the willingness of Member States to contribute the resources needed to fulfil such a role.

And even more directly, it has been pointed out that the United Nations works wonders with what Member States do not pay it, but it simply cannot keep running on exhausted credit.

At the end of August 1994, the Organization had debts exceeding $1.7 billion. This amount includes about $1 billion owed to some 70 Member States for their troop and equipment contributions to peace-keeping missions. At the same time, the United Nations owes $400 million to vendors and suppliers. It owes $325 million for budgetary surpluses in prior years, amounts which should have been returned to the Member States.

In addition, the Organization requires some $400 million each month to meet the costs of regular budget and peace-keeping operations.

Against these overwhelming financial demands, on 31 August of this year the United Nations had $375 million in cash balances. At the same time, Member States owed some $3.2 billion for contributions assessed but not paid - I repeat: $3.2 billion.

In my letter of 21 July of this year to the former President of the General Assembly, I drew attention to the grave situation we face in cash accounts of peace-keeping operations. I outlined a number of emergency measures. While a number of Member States responded positively, the problems continue. Therefore, I once again draw the attention of the General Assembly to this serious situation. Together, we must restore a viable financial basis in order to enable the Organization to continue its work in the service of the Member States.

The causes of our precarious financial situation are clear.

The first cause is late payments by Member States of assessed contributions, for both the regular budget and for peace-keeping operations. While some Member States pay their assessments on time, many others do not. By the end of August, only 56 Member States had paid their regular budget assessment in full, while 70 Member States had made no payment towards their 1994 regular budget assessment. By the end of September, 62 Member States still had made no payment.

The second cause lies in the process of approving peace-keeping budgets and appropriations. Months go by between the date when the Security Council approves a peace-keeping mission and the date when cash to pay for it is first received. Following Security Council approval, detailed budgets for the missions have to be prepared and approved before the required amounts can be assessed. Obviously, more time passes before the assessed contributions are actually paid.

In other words, lateness and delay create an imbalance in the cash position of the Organization. The inflow of cash is far less than the Organization needs to meet its obligations. Because of these late and delayed payments, the Organization has had to delay, in turn, its own payments to Member States. In effect, the Member States which wait for payment from the United Nations are financing the late payment by other Member States. This is not a satisfactory state of affairs.

I am pleased to confirm that in recent weeks a number of Member States have made substantial

payments. This has ameliorated the situation. Some payments to troop- and equipment-contributing Member States have been made possible. But amelioration is not a solution. Cash inflow from Member States has been followed by cash outflow to reimburse Member States. Thus, the situation was eased temporarily but not resolved. The Organization's liabilities still far exceed its available cash, and therefore the financial situation continues to be precarious.

The problem is not only the Member States' late or delayed payments; there is a more fundamental problem. The Organization has extremely limited cash reserves. The Working Capital Fund, less than one month's requirement of the regular budget, is today virtually depleted. And at present, there is practically no cash in the peace-keeping reserve fund.

The Organization simply cannot operate effectively under these constraints. We must have a secure capital base with attendant cash reserves. Therefore I ask Members to consider not only the problems caused by late and delayed payments but also the fundamental problem of insufficient reserves. I ask that Members urgently consider these issues.

There is another important element in the Organization's financial structure: the method of assessment. Over the years, Member States have endorsed three basic concepts regarding the Organization's expenses.

One concept is "capacity to pay". Member States with greater per capita resources and ability to pay should bear a greater share of the costs. A second concept - for peace-keeping expenses - is that the permanent members of the Security Council bear a special responsibility and that those with greater resources should bear a greater share of the cost. And the third concept is that realignment of Member States' contributions should be based on objective measures.

Member States may wish to review the practical application of these concepts in the sharing of the Organization's expenses. Each Member State should seriously consider whether the present scale of assessments is equitable. Some have expressed strong doubts. From this review, adjustments to the existing arrangements could emerge. It is important that Member States view the arrangements for sharing the Organization's expenses as fair.

In my report on the work of the Organization (A/49/1), I stressed the urgent need to overcome the critical financial situation of the United Nations. The problem has assumed a proportion which undermines the effectiveness of the Organization as a whole. The ability of the United Nations to perform the functions for which it was created is in danger.

This is no longer simply a financial question; it is an urgent political question.

The ideas which I have described are outlined in greater detail in a document being distributed to delegations as I speak. I offer them as a contribution to the solution of this vital issue. These questions require consideration at the highest political level. It is important that the General Assembly address them directly and effectively this year.

I stand ready, Mr. President, to provide any additional information or assistance you may require on this important subject. I have asked the Under-Secretary-General for Administration and Management to be at your disposal for that purpose. I have every confidence that, under your guidance, the General Assembly will respond.

I thank the Assembly for providing me with this opportunity to speak. I am sure that together we can summon the vision and the will to solve these urgent problems. At this point in the history of the United Nations, when its potential is greater than ever before, we can do no less than give it the means to realize that potential.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the Secretary-General for the important statement he has just made.

Before bowing to the custom whereby the President of the General Assembly summarizes the statements made during the general debate, I want most sincerely to thank all the speakers who congratulated me and wished me well in carrying out the tasks entrusted to me by the Assembly; I deeply appreciated those kind words. I assure members that I am fully available to work closely with all delegations towards success in the work of this session.

Without fear of error we can already say that the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly will be an exceptional one, given the large number of participants

and the high level of the delegations. We have had the honour and privilege of hearing statements by one monarch, 31 presidents, 14 heads of Government, two crown princes, 120 ministers and 11 heads of delegation; they eloquently expressed their countries' perceptions of the world situation today.

Having studied the statements made in the general debate, I wish to make the following comments.

First, I note that the international community in general feels frustrated by unkept promises about building a post-cold-war world of global peace and security.

Admittedly, there has been some tangible progress in the area of democratization and human rights. But the increased number of regional and civil conflicts taking place against a backdrop of ethnic and religious antagonism, and the uncertainty and hesitancy that mark the pace of nuclear disarmament, give us the impression that the world situation today has become more complex because the threats are more diffuse.

In connection with that concern, I welcome the unanimous recognition in the general debate of the virtues of preventive diplomacy and of the need for the financial and military means to carry out effective peace-keeping operations. The universal interest of speakers in this matter confirms the validity of the Secretary-General's "Agenda for Peace" - if such confirmation were necessary.

Secondly, I note with satisfaction that economic and social development held a central place in the majority of statements. In that connection, the Secretary-General's proposed Agenda for Development was rightly seen as an indispensable complement to "An Agenda for Peace", for political instability and civil strife often have their roots in poverty and socio-economic inequality. There was particular emphasis on the need quickly to devise practical machinery for the implementation of the Agenda for Development through action-oriented programmes. There was also emphasis on the need to relaunch what were great chapters in United Nations history - the North-South dialogue and the major United Nations Conferences on Trade and Development - so that the struggle for development can be returned to the heart of United Nations activities.

Furthermore, it was reassuring to note that the international community continues to accord the same priority to Africa, as there is still sustained interest in the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s. In that connection, the working group on a diversification fund should be reactivated so that it can continue work towards the speedy establishment of such a fund, the importance of which is universally recognized.

Thirdly, I want to highlight the very timely remarks made by many speakers about reform of the United Nations system. Above all, I noted that interest was focused on the enlargement of the Security Council through expansion of its permanent and non-permanent membership. Though such a development would seem inevitable, the diversity and complexity of the solutions put forward make a decision on this question difficult for the time being. In any event, the Assembly's debate on this item in coming days should clarify the details of the various perceptions of this matter.

It would be useful, therefore, for the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council to resume its work as soon as possible and to undertake the necessary consultations; I propose to reappoint the two Vice-Chairmen of that Group. I have no doubt that these efforts will yield results acceptable to all.

In this connection, I can only welcome the forthcoming summit meeting of the Security Council for it is clear that among other important decisions that will be taken by that supreme body, useful information will be made available which will provide more input into the work of the Working Group on the reform of the Security Council.

Turning to my last, but not least, comment, I would recall the interest taken throughout the general debate in the financial situation of the United Nations. Moreover, we have just heard the important statement by the Secretary-General describing all aspects of this issue.

The focus of concern is as follows. Faced with the increase in what the United Nations has to do, particularly in peace-keeping operations and humanitarian assistance, the available financial resources today are inadequate.

The financial situation of the United Nations today is extremely serious. The difficulties relate, to some extent, to delays in the payment by Member States of their contributions. But it is clear that the question has to be taken up in all its aspects including, *inter alia*, the

question of the scale of assessments. I think this is a very important point and one that should be studied with the tranquillity and lucidity that the situation requires. I feel sure that delegations will take up this matter and, as soon as possible, hold appropriate consultations with a view to finding the right answer to this important question.

Still on the financial aspect of affairs, on the question of financing operational activities for development - consideration of which was deferred from the forty-eighth to the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly - within the context of the restructuring and revitalization of the United Nations in the economic, social and cultural areas, I am considering asking the Chairman of the Working Group to continue his consultations and I firmly believe that those efforts will be successful.

In conclusion, I would just like to restate what has been said so eloquently here during this very enlightening general debate, namely that, on the eve of its fiftieth anniversary, the United Nations must adapt to the developments in the world today.

This is a task incumbent primarily on us, the Member States, and so we must buckle down to the work without any further delay so that our universal Organization may be able to take up the new challenges of the twenty-first century; and so that we may be able to pursue even more effectively our mission as a unique and irreplaceable instrument in the service of, and for the promotion of, international peace, development and security.

May I take it that it is the wish of the General Assembly to conclude its consideration of agenda item 9?

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.